/160/

539 533 8. Ẽguedjý, tũpã ray; djadjapó piẽta porã, djadjapó piẽta, overá. (Come down, son of God -- of thunder --, let us go to have a nice feast, let us go to have a feast, there is lightning.)

These texts, whose linguistic analysis does not belong here, remind one, in their syncopated form, of the guahũ songs, common at all the chicha feasts of the Kayová. For our study, however, they more importantly reveal, as is expressed in several of them, a preoccupation about crossing the sea in order to find happiness in Paradise, a subject to which the following chapter will be devoted.

000 /The notes for Ch. IX appear here on p. 160 in the original source./

/161/

Chapter X

772 771

The Myth of Paradise in Guaraní Culture and Life

It seems undisputable that the mystical spirit dominant in all the sectors of Guaraní life can be understood on its own terms only when one considers the place of cataclysmology in the conjunction of mythical representations. The myths of the Flood, of the Universal Fire, and other cataclysms of the past are stories of exemplar function that are projected into the future as dangers hanging frighteningly over the destiny of humanity. The earth on which we live is condemned to destruction in the more or less near future, an expectation that cannot fail to be a reason for panic for those who live on it. Hence the psychic need to procure a plank of salvation, which the Guaraní finds in the myth of the Land without Evil, today a genuine element of his culture (1).

[171] 1. /The notes for Ch. X appear on pp. 176-178 in the original source./ With the statement that the myth of the Land without Evil is a genuinely Guaraní element, it is not intended to ignore the

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existence of analogous ideas in other cultures of South American tribes, in particular of the Tupí-Guaraní family. The latter, by the way, are frequently characterized as "migrant groups," for, notwithstanding the importance of tillage in their cultures, many of them have only a weak tendency for sedentary life. The reports from the colonial period repeatedly mention the great migratory currents of the Tupinambá along the Brazilian coast, as well as toward the interior of the continent, in a western direction. Everything seems to indicate that one of the motives for these migrations was the quest for the Promised Land, which is already mentioned in 1515 in the text of the "Newe Zeytung auss Presilig Landt," the first document about Brazil published by the typographic art (Brandenburger, 1922, p. 26 et passim), and about which various chroniclers also tell us. It is known that myths about Paradise do not constitute any rarity in the conjunction of the collective representations of the American tribes. It is sufficient to remember the Beautiful Land (Tenetehára), the Fountain of Youth (Aruák /Arawak/ of Central America), the Fortunate Isles (Karaíb /Carib/), the Orchard of Paradise (Payaguá, perhaps Christian influence here), and still others. But it seems that in no other tribe has this mythical tradition come to have the place that it takes among the Guaraní, in whose religion it occupies a central position particularly by virtue of the manner in which it is bound up with the myth of the destruction of the world in the future. -- Nevertheless there does not seem to be any justification for the opinion published by me in an earlier work (Schaden, 1946, 112), that the Guaraní religion could be characterized as a "religion of despair."

/161 cont./

"religion of despair." Like all religions, it too finally aims at giving the faithful a means for the psychic surmounting of death and for the solution of other problems that afflict human existence. The peculiar combination of terror with the hope of salvation at the final hour is what is seen as a typically Guaraní touch, probably the fruit of Jesuit seed cast on the fertile soil of the traditional native ideas.

Thus the Guaraní spirit oscillates between the feeling of terror that the inevitable cataclysm causes in it and the hope of reaching Paradise before it is too late. And it is perhaps because of this that the idea of redemption has become so relevant in the tribal religion.

We shall see that the Guaraní imagine the Land without Evil as an ideal land, in which are realized the desires that are not satisfied in this world. But there is to be noted the insistence with which nowadays, when they describe the life that awaits them in the promised paradise, they refer to the re-establishment of the tribal customs in their original purity, an attitude analogous, for example, to that of the prophets of the North American Ghost Dance religion /cited in English/, who for their part preached the return to the conditions of life prior to the coming of the white man. This feature shows that the situation of cultural poverty stemming from cultural contacts has already become established as a problem in the collective consciousness.

In his famous work published forty years ago, Curt Nimuendajú (2)

2. /From p. 177 of the original source./

tells how the fear of the imminent destruction of the world, linked to the hope of finding refuge in Paradise, determines, /162/ from the beginning to the end of their lives, the thoughts, feelings, and actions of the Guaraní Indians studied by him. Under the

/162 cont./ Under the direction of doctor-sorcerers, who, on the basis of dreams and visions, claimed that the destruction of the world prophesied by the myth was near, many hordes of this tribe, around 1820, started to walk in the direction of the rising sun from their villages in the south of Mato Grosso, in order to reach the Land without Evil, which was supposed to exist beyond the Atlantic Ocean. Only part of these Indians reached the coast, where, sooner or later, they finally had to admit the impossibility of reaching the country of their aspirations. Part of their descendants are the present-day Ñandéva of the coast of São Paulo. In the immediate surroundings of the capital of the State, in 1912, Nimuendajú found some remnants of a band of Paraguayan Guaraní, who could not be persuaded to give up their plan of continuing their march to the sea. Nimuendajú himself then accompanied them to Praia Grande, where night after night they performed religious dances, in order to make their bodies light enough to fly to the promised land.

From all this come highly significant problems, which were the point of departure for the present work. To what end would the Indians whose dream had not been realized finally be brought? In what manner had their spirit accommodated itself to the frustrating experience? Did the belief in a mythical Paradise continue to exist among them and what modifications had it undergone? -- Even nowadays, as we have seen, migratory movements continue, at least among the Mbüá. I have the impression, by the way, that nowadays they are the only ones to search for the Land without Evil in the east, while the other groups prefer to seek it in the zenith.

In the mythology of all the Guaraní groups now living in Brazil there occur a Universal Fire and a Universal Flood, which have destroyed an earlier earth. These representations are probably part of the ancient mythical tradition of the tribe. The belief in the destruction of the world in the future, however, which in its present form indisputably contains Christian elements, even giving in some of its variants the impression of the Last Judgment, is possible due to the teachings transmitted by the Jesuit missionaries

2: Schaden--211 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/164 cont./

The fundamental conception from which the belief in Paradise is derived is aguydjé, which may be translated as happiness, perfection, and victory. Montoya has already given due attention to the conception, at least from the linguistic point of view (8).

8. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Montoya, 1876, Vol. I, pp. 20-22.

For the Guaraní, aguydjé corresponds to the very purpose and objective of human existence. In this sense it is usually conceived concretely as paradisiacal happiness in the supernatural world, which everybody passionately wishes to reach without dying beforehand, and the obtaining of which depends principally on obedience to so many prescriptions, religious, "moral," or simply magical. In its origin, the mythical representation properly speaking is reduced to a kind of Island of Happiness in the middle of the distant ocean, which is reached with the help of a long rope or in some other way, and where death is not known. One attempts to reach this island for a life in spiritual communion with the deities and in order to achieve immortality, but not in order to flee from any imminent catastrophe, contrary to what is noted after the apocalyptic transformation of the myth.

In order to have an idea of the lability inherent in the representation of the Guaraní Paradise, it is sufficient to consider, for example, the variety of denominations that correspond to it. Let us content ourselves with some examples. The Ñandéva consider Paradise the land of the civilizer hero Ñanderykey, designating it as yvý-ñomimbyré. As the translation of this word, I have been given in the village of Bananal the expression "land in which people hide," while at Araribá they translated it as "the hidden land." The first interpretation refers to the place where it is hoped to find refuge on the occasion of the cataclysm, while the second one calls to mind the destruction of the first world in the mythical past, an occasion on which the civilizer hero stole a piece of the crumbling land, taking it to the celestial regions.

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772 771 The denominations yvý-marã-eỹ ("land without evil") or simply yvãy (sky /Port. céu, sky, heaven, firmament/) are likewise heard among the Ñandéva, having been recorded by me in the village of Itariri and in P. I. Francisco Horta, in southern Mato Grosso. Among Paraguayan Guaraní the name Mbaéveráguasú occurs.

771 772 18 /165/ A fundamental character of the conception of Paradise in each one of the three groups into which the tribe is divided is that it is a matter of a place of safety, whose inhabitants are free, above all, from sickness and death. Yet they do not have to fear hunger, misery, and economic poverty either. But this does not necessarily correspond to the absence of work in order to obtain the means of subsistence. Thus the Mbyá of Xapecó, arriving in Paradise, expect to receive from their civilizer hero good lands for tillage, a sign that they have not yet begun to classify work as suffering. On the other hand, most of the Ñandéva, whose culture exhibits phenomena of generally more profound disintegration, and who, among other things, seem to have lost their primitive notion of work without having satisfactorily replaced it by the patterns that would correspond to it in the civilized world, almost all dream of a "dolce far niente" as an essential part of paradisiacal happiness.

771 772 [956] [178] [214] The success of the community that wants to enter the Land without Evil depends on both the spiritual endowment and conduct of the doctor-sorcerer and the fervor of his believers. If formerly the political direction of the Guaraní community was always in the hands of the priest charged with leading the believers to the Atlantic coast and from there to the Beyond, nowadays the power of the capitão or civil chief grows in the measure that they abandon the attempts to reach the Promised Land.

[128] Because of the diversity of historical situations through which the three subgroups of the tribe have passed, it seems preferable to study each one of them separately with regard to the myth of Paradise.

2: Schaden--213 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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1. The Ñandéva

[772 D71 128]

It is our task here to distinguish between those Ñandéva who did not see the attempt to go to the Land without Evil crowned with success and those who have not yet attempted to reach such an objective.

Among the latter are the Ñandéva of southern Mato Grosso, of the village of Jacareí. They believe, it is true, that the world is coming to an end and that its destruction, which will happen by means of fire, should be interpreted as a consequence of the wickedness of human beings, particularly the white. But everything seems to indicate that the danger is not imminent. The place of refuge is Paradise, located in the sea, like an island of happiness. So long as the faithful of the Guaraní religion follow the prescriptions of fasting and sing with frequency and fervor certain religious songs (known as ñandé-aguydjé) instead of preoccupying themselves they will reach it without first passing through /166/ death. It is said that many years ago a whole community of Indians, while it devoted itself to those religious exercises, was floating over the waters of the sea, together with the house and the earth on which it was built, just as if it were the ark of Noah. The island thus formed is now Paradise, and Avámbaékuaá, "the knower of things," together with the group that he leads, lives there. -- It should be noted, however, that in the village of Jacareí the Indians have quite satisfactory conditions of existence. They do not have great difficulty in obtaining their sustenance, and in general the rhythm of their lives is not disturbed by the interference of foreign elements. Certainly, the dream of Paradise also exists for them, but there are no activating factors sufficiently decisive to transform it into an obsession.

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For the sake of comparison with what has just been discussed, it is interesting to call attention to a story concerning the myth of Paradise collected by Nimuendajú at Araribá, thus among Indians who had already made the migration to the seacoast: "A young Guaraní once went to Rio, where he was very well received.

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He asked that they take him on as a sailor. They acceded to his desire and later he was entrusted with the command of a big ship. -- When he started the first voyage with the ship, there was a number of Italians on it. They went off to sea, passing from the blue water to the red, and from the red to the black. Then the sea swallowed up the ship, the Guaraní and all the Italians. But 'on the other side' everybody came out safe and sound. Then in the distance they saw an island and navigated in its direction, but the island receded before the ship and could not be reached. Then, finally, the Guaraní remembered the magic song of his tribe, and, after it was sung for some time, the island actually stopped and the ship could approach it. The Guaraní disembarked, but as soon as any of the others tried to follow him, the island started to recede. Then he ordered the men to wait until he returned, and he went toward the interior of the island, where there was a forest of fruit-bearing trees, some with flowers and some with fruits of every species. The chirping of the birds was heard, and from the recesses of the forest came the songs of the Guaraní, simultaneously with the stamping of the dancers and the sounds of the tacoá. Then the Guarani went into the forest and nevermore returned. -- For a long time the men of the ship waited in vain for his return: As he did not appear, however, and the island withdrew at every attempt to disembark, they decided to go on. -- The Guaraní, meanwhile, now leads a good life. He is again in the midst of his people, and he does not lack anything, will not need to die" (9).

9. /From p. 177 of the original source./
Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 50-51.

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One of the notable features of his narrative, aside from the curious analogy with the Fortunate Island of the Karaíb /Carib/ is the discriminatory distinction /167/ between the tribal brother and the foreign individuals lumped together under the denomination of "Italians" /Port. "italianada"/ and not destined for paradisiacal happiness. No hope of entering the promised land is given to the foreigner, because of the simple fact that, not being a member

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539 of the tribe, it is impossible for him to be admitted to the
• 772 Guaraní religious community. Besides, those not belonging to
186 the tribe could not count on admission to the Land without Evil, because their propensity for irreverence and mockery, as well as the disorderly life that distinguishes them, are pointed out as the main cause of the threatening catastrophe. There is no doubt but that all this is not mentioned in the story reproduced above, but I have had the opportunity to hear such explanations repeatedly from the lips of the Indians themselves.

771 It is not a great step that leads from the accusation of a
829 stranger to self-incrimination. Every Guaraní knows perfectly
177 well that the disintegration of the culture in which he lives is a
182 direct consequence of contact with foreign individuals and cultural elements, but neither is he ignorant of the fact that he himself was unable to resist the tempting innovations, accepting them in the place of so many traditional elements. It is understandable that the results of the cultural contact, social disorganization among them, came to constitute for him an explanation of the fact that, in spite of all the religious fervor and the most intense efforts, the path that leads to Paradise is not revealed to him.

771 Formerly, it is told, Paradise was accessible to everyone, and
772 many found the way because they prayed confidently to Ñanderykeý,
178 the civilizer hero, asking that he come to look for them. The present-day Guaraní, however -- it is common talk among the Ñandéva -- will reach the Land without Evil only after death, because they are full of vices and weaknesses.

[167] Nowadays the majority of the Ñandéva, whose migrations ended decades ago, localize Paradise at the zenith, perhaps also by analogy with the Christian heaven. Among them, those who live near the sea and who, in the great majority, were even born there no longer cherish, as we see, the illusion of reaching it before
[179] their death. The myth, although mixed with Christian elements, nevertheless continues to exist.

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772 As though ecstatic, the ñanderú Sebastião of Araribá describes the pleasures of Paradise to me. The yvý ñomimbyré is "more like the skies than like earth." There is a big lagoon there: in the center of it a very high cross, from which a small shower falls every day (Okurutaúgui odjidjóú oky ráivi): at the foot of the cross, a "little sheep of gold." (Obviously bound up with the golden calf of the Bible and with the Lamb of God.) There are fruits in abundance: one who finds himself there /168/ lives only on fruit and without working. One cuts off a hand of bananas, turns his back, and there is already another in its place. At yvý ñomimbyré nobody dies. Sebastião explains: "When he becomes so old, suddenly he becomes very young, he does not die." The wife of the ñanderú adds: "One who goes there from here does not die either." And he finishes: "This world is immediately forgotten." -- According to Sebastião's doctrine, the yvý ñomimbyré is not the realm of the souls of the dead (ayvúporãguẽ): these pass through there and go on. In Paradise people live without clothes ("with body"), but adorned with ornaments of feathers, not doing anything but dance the religious dances of the tribe. The "ancient people" succeeded in going there and staying: but it was because they abstained from taking drink ("spirit beverages") and did not cook their food with grease or season it with salt. It was said: "Idjáguydjẽ odjé ótvy yvý ñomimbyrére," they went to Paradise. Nowadays it would be possible to go there by airplane. -- Prayers also come from the yvý ñomimbyré. The chief ñanderú (chief-prayer-man) of Paradise sends them by means of spirits who by chance go by there.

772 771 167 173 Some years ago the two oldest inhabitants of Bananal -- Pedro Botuca (now deceased) and Ermelina -- both already natives of the coast, told me at length about the journey of the previous generation, who, under the leadership of Capitão Guatsú, came from Mato Grosso, in order "to see the sea" and to make ñemongaraí on the beach. It was said that the world was coming to an end. Many stayed in the village of Alecrim, others returned to Mato Grosso. Many ñanderú prayed that Nanderykeý would come to look for them. At night all prayed; in the morning they went into the forest to seek fruit and honey, but no game.

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772 771 173 in order not to become heavy. Many did go up to the Land of Nanderykey. But it was necessary to pray with great faith. The sea would open at their feet and form a bridge, over which they passed, in order, on the other side, to ascend to the yvý ñomimbyré. The "old ones" wanted to get there, "because people do not die there"; it is a "sacred land." The late Arnaldo -- who did not hold ñemongaraí on the beach, but only in the forest -- said that it was very easy: the sea became small, "it was a tiny puddle." But Arnaldo did not succeed in ascending, "because all of us made mistakes for him." Nowadays it is no longer possible, because "all of us make mistakes"; many "are potýý, very brave," others "always want to make love."

772 771 178 77 The attitude of old Silvino Rufino, Nandéva of Itariri, seems no less significant to me. In his village there lived for some time, as we have seen, the Mbüá who came from Paraguay in 1946. Rufino considered them "somewhat different," because of their mania to cross the sea. He put them in the same category with the "believers" (Protestants), who, he said, also lived in hope that God would send them "the path /169/ that leads to heaven." Rufino thought that the Land without Evil exists, but he did not believe that one could go there. He argued: If even God, when he was in the world, and who was not a sinner, had to die in order to go to heaven, how much more we sinners. After death, yes, we shall go: the spirit goes. But then we shall all go. "There is only one way. It is true that there are two ways. But the other one, the one that goes to hell, is only for those who are furthermore great sinners." -- In another sense, too, the religious ideas of Silvino Rufino were corrupted with Christian conceptions. While the majority of the Nandéva distinguish between heaven properly speaking (yváy, realm of Nanderuvutsú with his yvyraídjá Mbaékuaá) and, located a little lower, the Land without Evil (yvý maráeỹ or yvý ñomimbyré, under the rule of Nanderýkey, son of Nanderuvutsú, assisted by his yvyraídjá Tyvýr, son of Mbaékuaá), for him it was all the same thing -- a heaven partly native partly Christian, dominion of all those deities.

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2. The Mbüá

772 771 [114] [167]

Nowadays the group in which the myth of Paradise fills the most important role seems to be the Mbüá. From Nimuendajú's works one cannot learn with absolute certainty whether in times past this subdivision of the tribe participated in the migratory movements. At present, however, the Mbüá are the only ones that are directed toward the coastal region.

772 771 177 [114]

With regard to the subject focused on here the Mbüá-Guaraní deserve special attention because of the simple fact of there being several groups among them who have preserved in their traditions a great number of teachings of Christian origin, side by side with others, particularly those studied by Cadogan and in part by me in eastern Paraguay (Guaíra), in whose culture no Jesuit influence has as yet been determined.

772 771 [184]

It seems that in relation to these last ones, that is, the Mbüá who in times past were not found within the radius of action of the missions, the original native belief in Paradise in its genuine form of aguydjé, that is, as spiritual and physical perfection, now exists more clearly than it does in any other group. At least this is what is understood from the material collected by León Cadogan. Everything seems to indicate that the combination with the myth of the destruction of the world goes back to the classes in religion given in the Jesuit missions of the colonial era.

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/170/ On the one hand we have the above-mentioned Mbüá of Guaíra, in whose mental life the role of the cataclysmology of the future is null or almost null and for whom the ideal of paradise continues to be essentially religious, being identified in the last analysis with a mystical state of happiness obtained as a reward for a special cultivation of supernatural experiences and for "virtuous" behavior, a state that refers less to the physical conditions of existence than to the fate of the soul; on the other hand, those who have already reached the coast or who are on the way to the sea, and who look at Paradise primarily as a place of refuge and security with ideal conditions of life. This sense given to the myth springs from the activation of the belief in the destruction of the world by means of the religious experiences of certain doctor-sorcerers.

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772 For the migrating Mbüá, Paradise, the Promised Land -- according to the explanation by the ñanderú Miguel of Itariri -- is a genuine garden or orchard, kááguy miñ, consisting of low vegetation ("same as capuera /second-growth forest/, but it is not capuera"), corresponding to the ideal of existence on earth: a country without mosquitoes and sand flies /Phlebotomus/, without snakes and wild beasts, without briars and other plagues, and rich in game, fruit trees that are not very high, and good land for tillage; a country, finally, in which one could plant and hunt as one wished. There is an abundance of game: jacu, kotŷ (wild pig), toucan, etc.; there is, however, no paca, no deer, no armadillo. There is much fruit: banana, narã (orange), tzandjáu (watermelon), manduí (earthnut), and many others -- everything having arisen by God's will. Miguel goes on enumerating the fruits, each time saying oguereko (there is). The banana trees, orange trees, and other fruit trees are very low, shorter than a human being, but the fruits are all the larger. The other trees, such as the cinnamon and the cedar, are likewise not very tall, but quite thick. The [178] representation of a Paradise in which one does not have to work, such as was described by the ñanderú Sebastião, is a recent and not generalized product, immediate fruit of the cultural disintegration. [181] In the meantime there predominates a dream corresponding to the cultural ideal accepted by the tribe, according to which the activities practiced in the traditional manner continue to form an integral part of happiness, consequently not being felt as a less desirable thing. And part of this fate is also the possibility of living 772 186 rigorously, in all details, in accordance with the pattern of the tribe: whether in diet, clothing, or any other sector of life. In the "Land never ending," everybody will wear the ancient Mbüá costume and the men will wear hats of karandáí. Ñanderú ndaipotái, God does not want them to wear the hat of civilized type. Any and every element that is recognized as coming /171/ from the civilized world is banned from Paradise. Finally, the loyalty to the elements of the traditional culture has already taken on religious meaning. This means that the anticulturative moment has invaded the field of the mythical representations and influenced the conception of the world.

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771 178 On general lines one observes among the Mbûá that the religious motive proper, the mystical union with the deity, tends to pass to the second plane, yielding its place to cogitations tied to the insecure or not very satisfactory conditions of life in which the community finds itself. This in turn contributes to the cultural [182] disintegration as well as to the social disorganization, because the economic activities come to be neglected and, above all, the normal ecological rhythm of the year is not duly respected because of the simple fact of always being very near to departure. 771 Many, it is stated, have already left ahead of us for the "Land 772 never ending"; ahead of them all, an old doctor-sorcerer, [756] Ketxuíta or Ketxú Kíritu. He now lives in yvýdjúporã, the "beautiful and holy land," located in the far east, from where he will send a boat with little benches, on which the faithful will journey there. They will be received by Korá Rõhẽ Pyguá, the porter of Paradise, who will take them into the presence of Ketxuíta. The latter will give them an extent of land, where they will build their houses and make clearings. There are no sicknesses there, no death. And there they will find alive their deceased companions. In summer the old people return to childhood and begin to grow again. Basically, then, the paradise dreamed of is nothing but the continuation of earthly existence, with the sole difference there of not going through the provocations and unpleasantness that [177] characterize life on this world. Both the name of the savior hero [197] and the fact of his having gone on ahead evidently reflect the remembrance of the fathers of the Company of Jesus expelled from Paraguay in 1767.

772 Thus, unlike the Ñandéva, whose migrations were made many 167 decades ago, and who long since have accommodated themselves 181 to the impracticableness of their plan, the myth continues at pres- [184] ent as an objective in the life of the Mbûá. Those that arrived at the coast years or even decades ago still insist today on settling in the vicinity of the sea, since, if there should be an opportunity to reach the other shore of the Atlantic, there without further ado they could ascend to the promised land. From Portugal, they believe, it would be an easy thing; meanwhile the President of the Republic has refused to provide them ship passage to Lisbon. But their day will come.

2: Schaden--221 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Mbüá
Kayová

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771 624 756 What is certain is that the frustration has not yet shaken their faith, and that is why the confidence that they place in the religious chief also continues to be strong. The second authority, the civil chief or capitão, has /172/ an active voice among the Mbüá only on subjects of secondary importance, particularly in what is said with respect to dealings with the civilized inhabitants. The ñanderú does not take cognizances of these matters; burdens of greater responsibility rest on his shoulders.

771 772 178 Among the factors making the myth of Paradise continue to be so alive in the spirit of the Mbüá is the outstanding fact of their having clung, in spite of frequent contacts with the civilized world, to the usages and customs of the ancestors and of not yet counting in their midst mestizo individuals. And these conditions for their part explain a decisive factor: that the different groups still constitute closed communities of worship, in which the quite superficial influence of the Christianity experienced in recent years has not succeeded in undermining, for the present, the constant realization of the conjunction of ceremonies bound up with the myth.

3. The Kayová

127 167 [178] From the existing bibliographic sources it is understood that formerly, that is, several decades ago, the Kayová also undertook migrations in the direction of the Atlantic coast. There are no indications in this respect for recent times.

771 772 648 183 Although the representation of Paradise is always present as an aspiration or dream in the religious life of the Kayová, virtually at least, its importance increases considerably in crisis situations. This was verified a few years ago at least in the Mato Grosso village of Panambi, in the region of Dourados, when the Government had the lands of the Indians distributed among civilized colonists. As this project was being executed, the primitive conditions of life of the Indians began to be jeopardized and in part were even destroyed. Thus, the myth was activated, and the Indians started [796] to perform religious dances with the objective of hastening the

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183 771 772 648 [796] [124] [828] destruction of the world and to receive as quickly as possible the revelation of the path to the promised land. As a result of the conflicts with the colonists and the Government officials, the mythical dream and the cataclysmology tied to it assumed in a short time the character of a true obsession. When I once handed these Indians some sheets of paper and a pencil, asking them to draw anything whatsoever, they at once set out to represent scenes of the end of the world and the path that leads to the Beyond, so passionately desired.

77 As for the idea of the path, it is necessary to mention its importance in the conjunction of the collective representations of the Kayová, as well as, by the way (although to a less attenuated degree), of the other subdivisions of the tribe. The /173/ ñanderú [184] [762] might invoke for his position the evangelical phrase: "I am the way, the truth and the life." And it is particularly the image of the path that in crisis situations assumes the form of an obsessive idea. In the tribal myth it is distinguished, among the Ñandéva, as the path of the primordial mother looking for the father of the twins. Among them, as among the Kayová, it takes concrete expression in the dangerous path of the soul after death, as well as in the path of the soul in the prayer in its passage through the celestial realm of the deities. In all the groups, however, the most significant form is the path whose revelation is awaited in order to reach the [124] realm of happiness. The Kayová, invited to draw, tried to portray with the pencil how the path used by the doctor-sorcerer on his frequent visits to the sky appeared to them. -- All this reminds [829] us that the Guaraní characterize themselves as tapédjá as a nation of wanderers and travelers.

[782] [182] All the different prayers that accompany the religious dances and that extend through the night until the break of day, according to what the Kayová repeatedly told me, are nothing but paths that lead to the presence of the gods. The ayvú as well as the yvyrá'ídjá. "Without a path," one informant told me, "one does not arrive at the place that one intends to reach."

2: Schaden--228 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/176 cont./

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substitute motivation for the objectives dictated by the culture and whose realization has become utopian by virtue of the transformations arising from cultural contacts.

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and in exceptional cases in thanatomania and suicide. /The notes for Ch. X appear on pp. 176-178 in the original source./

/179/ Conclusion

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Since the fundamental characters of the culture and of the acculturative processes have become quite explicit as the observed facts were presented, a final chapter devoted especially to the interpretation of the data seems dispensable. Rigorously speaking, the pages on the role of the myth of Paradise in the culture and in the life of the three subtribes constitute the conclusion of the essay. This myth, the point of convergence of the most significant manifestations of acculturation is, without doubt, one of the master keys for an understanding of the tribal culture, as well as of the phenomena of cultural disintegration and social disorganization observed in the Guaraní groups now existing in Brazilian territory.

It is sufficient, therefore, to take up again here some of the main points, with the aim of emphasizing the more important general aspects.

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All the spheres of the Guaraní cultural configuration, as far as it can be studied in the villages in Brazil, show profound influences from the point of view of acculturation, undergone in two distinct epochs and in essentially different situations of contact. The first ones, at the time of the Jesuit missions, affected the religious system in particular, with regard to the ceremonies as

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

RELIGION

776 The great personages of *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology deserve the title of gods though they remain aloof from the affairs of this world. Creators and Transformers, they continue to exist and men yearn to live [773] in their company. Some day they will destroy the world which they have 776 created and shaped. The most majestic deity is the Creator, Ñanderuvuçú, 772 Our Great Father, who now resides in a dark region which he lights with the glimmer of his chest. His wife, who was also the first woman, Ñandeçy, Our Mother, has her abode in the west in the Land-Without-Evil. According to Vellard (1939 a, p. 169), the main deity of the *Mbyá* is Ñamandu who lives in the east and gives life to the world. Tupã is the deity of the west. The north belongs to Yahira, the god of vengeance and death. 776 Vellard (1939 a, p. 171) quotes prayers to Ñamandu in which he 782 is asked for game or for good health, but there is no evidence of a cult 771 of the Creator among the *Apapocuva*.

776 The *Paĩ* and *Mbyá*, who in the past have certainly been subject to [784] Jesuit influences, recognize Tupã as the Creator and High God. Among [791] the *Apapocuva*, whose ancient traditions seem unimpaired, Tupã, son of Ñandeçy, is a secondary nature deity, the personification of the thunder. [821] He is a short man, with woolly hair, who causes a storm every time he crosses the skies in his wooden trough in the company of Thunder Birds. The original nature of this secondary god, promoted to an exalted position among acculturated *Guaraní*, is still present in the memory of his worshippers, who refer to him as "The Great Thunder," "The Great Noise," or [821] "Master of Thunder." Under him, minor Tupã are respectively lords of [784] the rain, hailstorm, lighting, and thunder (*Paĩ*). A stock of traditional [782] prayers which these Indians address to their God whenever in need of [797] help betrays Christian influences.

[796] Certain rites observed by the *Apapocuva* and even by the ancient *Guaraní* can be interpreted only as worship of the sun, whom the *Apapocuva* call "Our Father." Sun is given as the Son of Our Great Father or of Tupã.

774 **Animism.**—According to the *Apapocuva*, two souls coexist in every man. One, called ayvucué, comes from the mansion of some deity in the west, zenith, or east, and enters the body immediately after birth. This soul is identified with a peaceful disposition, gentleness, and a craving for vegetables; but the temperament of a person is conditioned by the animal soul (acyiguá), which he harbors in the nape of his neck. Patient and friendly people may have a butterfly soul; whereas a jaguar soul makes a man cruel and brutal. Unrest, violence, malice, and lust for meat are generally ascribed to the acyiguá.

[828] Dreams are experiences of the soul and are paid great attention, [787] especially by shamans, who derive their supernatural knowledge and power [756] from them.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

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and the approach of a new golden age; or else some tribe would leave its territory in quest of the Land-Without-Evil. According to missionary accounts, shamans often represented themselves as the Lords of the Universe and preached a holy war against the intruders. These messiahs performed rites and expressed ideas that, like the redeemer concept, included many borrowings from Christianity.

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During the last century, three *Guaraní* groups, the *Apapocuva*, the *Tanyguá*, and the *Oguauiva*, fearing an imminent destruction of the world announced by their shamans, desperately attempted to reach the Land-Without-Evil, where there is abundance of all good things and eternal life. Since most authorities located the paradise somewhere in the east, beyond the sea, these migrations were directed toward the Atlantic Coast. In 1910, a group of *Apapocuva* sought to lose weight through dancing, so as to fly over the ocean.

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This great hope, which has so deeply influenced the destiny of these Indians, is based on a myth which describes the first destruction of the universe by fire and water. A shaman forced his people to dance day and night so as to open the way to the heavenly country. Modern *Guaraní* often tried to emulate this act, irrespective of repeated failures, which they blamed on ritual mistakes or on the use of foreign foods. The leaders of these movements were always famous shamans surrounded by an aura of mystery.

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113

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